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WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXV. NO. 49.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1865.

WHOLE NO. 1818.

## Refuge of Oppression.

THE "BLUNDER OF EMANCIPATION."

[Correspondence of the Journal of Commerce.]

RICHMOND, Va., Nov. 13, 1865.

The negro is still the principal theme of every pen. What an amazing amount of ink the black subject has absorbed! Contraband he certainly is not in the newspapers, nor in our common conversations. We talk about him more than about anybody else; he is scarcely ever slighted in the interests of any circle.

He, therefore, who sits down to note the progress of affairs for the press, must pay his respects to the African. His virtues and his vices and interwoven with the daily events of domestic life. On the farms, and on the highway, in the country, on the streets, lanes and alleys of the city; on the railroad, on the steamer; on all the lines of travel, his presence is sure for annoyance or usefulness, his absence is lamented as the cause of endless and diversified disengagement; his merits or demerits, his chivalry and chagrinfulness, his roughness and laziness, his impudence and arrogance, or his deference and dutifulness, his affection and attachment, are fruitful of never-ceasing anecdotes, illustrated by the greatest variety of anecdotes, with which each speaker seems to be fully supplied.

The fact is, the white folks are in a transition state, and so are the negroes. They may truly say, "See how we apples swim!"

Does Mr. Smith live here now? — "inquires a gentleman looking for an old friend. "No, sir," replies a pert boy standing at the door. "Who occupies the house, then?" — "I do, sir," answers the colored gentleman, with indescribable dignity. Mr. Smith may be an aristocrat, with the pure patrician blood of the old Virginia stock flowing in his veins, and this gentleman in black may be the continuation of one of the little "niggers" that used to mind his cows on a James River plantation, who used to call him "Master," and look at him as he rode by on his fine horse with some reverence, but now the tables are turned: the bottom rail is on top.

The really good and inoffensive gentlemen are quietly walking along the sidewalk. They meet two black men that are engaged in an altercation, or pretend to be, with a negro boy who is riding on the street. Addressing him, they say, "You are an old Virginia rebel; yes, you are an old Virginia rebel." The words, enforced with a disgusting oath, are meant for the ears of the white men, and meant to be a taunt and an insult; but the speakers have guns and liberty; they are permitted to go on guns triumphing in their power, and the other citizens smother their rage and pass along.

There are brighter sides to the picture. There are negroes whom not even freedom has demoralized. They are gentlemen and ladies still. The graceful bow or lowly courtesy proclaim the old gentility, and their humble, respectable demeanor is still claimed.

The winds are chill. Cold, impious winter is at hand. The foolish children—alas! they know no better—they wander from place to place. The rolling stones have gathered no moss. Spring and summer have been given to the carnival of joy, to realize the sweets of liberation, light work and no gathering of fruits and stores. The prospect is a sad one.

The benevolence that blundered so into this sudden stroke of emancipation, instead of choosing that gradual removal of bondage which wisdom dictated, will be felt in the pinch of December's snows, and the long, long season of slush and cold which lingers with us until the month of May, when the stores of the past harvest sink low in the garnering of those who have them, and the next one is still far in the distance.

Will those who have shouted over his disenthalment care for the negro then? They have the means, the fruit, it may be, of his labor. We have not. The arms swept away our horses, freedom removed our servants, our money—but every one knows where that is; we know where it is not.

There are benevolent persons here from the North, who are making arrangements to meet the wants of the approaching inclement season. They are providing shoes, clothing, medicines, and bread.

They will to some extent encourage idleness, distribute to rogues and imposters, and overlook many real cases of suffering; but if they are prudent and wise, and willing to listen to a word of counsel and receive a hand of cooperation from some others who love the negro as well as they, then we will do much good, and receive the benedictions of all good men.

HANOVER.

## THE FREEDMEN.

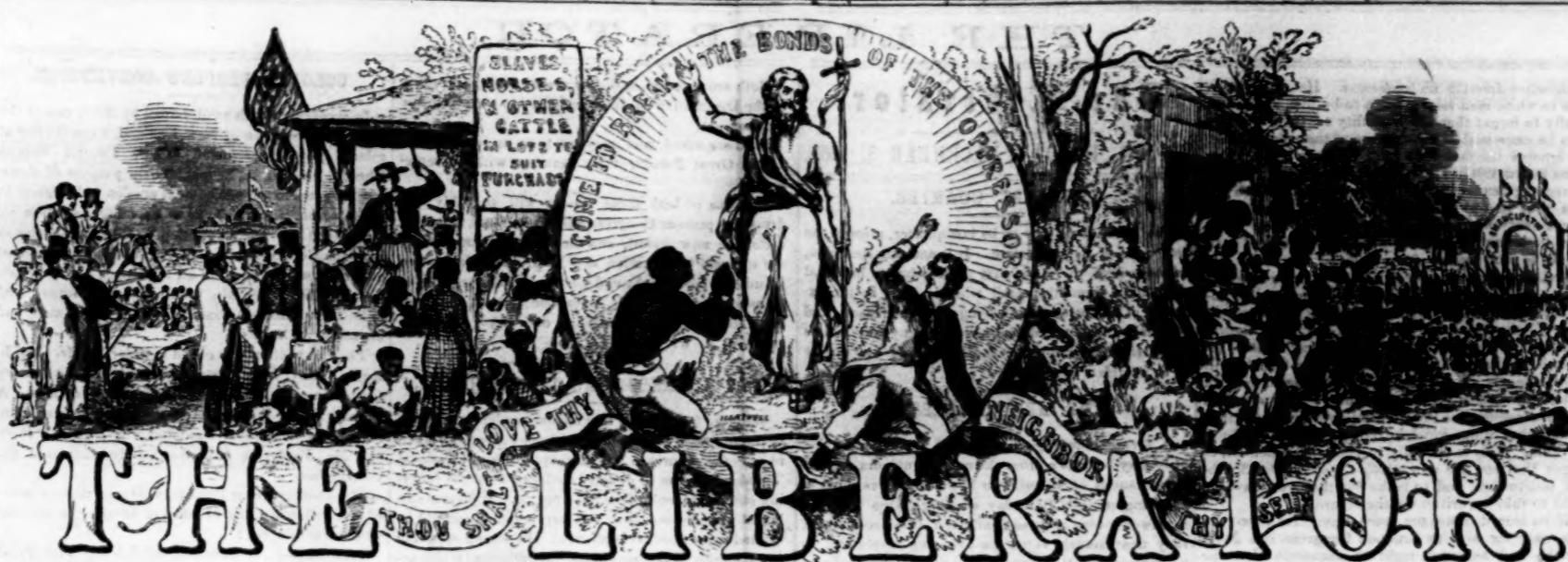
We are induced to believe that a portion of the people of the Northern States of this country—we will not dignify such a collection by terming it a party—in their ignorance, or malice, or both, have taken, and are still taking, measures to increase the discontent of that unfortunate race in the Southern States so recently endowed with freedom; to inflame their passions, and thereby prevent any solution of the social and political question now pending, but one that is terrible to contemplate.

The first and most important step now to be taken by the freedom of the South is to forget as much as possible of the past, and more especially that narrow period wherein their minds were filled with glowing conceptions of prosperity, engendered by either malicious or ignorant men. They must forget the falsehoods that have been told them, and look the future honestly in the face. They must know that those who have thus beguiled them are not their friends, and that for aid, counsel, and practical friendship, they must look to those among whom they were born, and in community with whom they wish to live. It is terrible to contemplate the condition of the African race of this country in the future, unless their relations are clear and friendly with the Southern people. There can be no middle ground to be assumed. They must be friends with the white population of the South, or they are their enemies, and as such will and must be treated. It is a great pity that these unfortunate creatures cannot realize such a palpable fact. The conservative and sensible portion of the Northern people owe it to themselves to prevent any further mischief emanating from the opposite view. Humanity requires that there shall be no further deception tried upon these simple-minded beings.

A State, if it see fit, may require a qualification of birth, as a foreigner shall have been a three-year resident before he is entitled to vote; but if it should push this principle so far as to disfranchise all persons of foreign birth and their descendants, during lifetime, then large masses would be excluded.

There can be no disputing the fact that here is idleness, carelessness, and a disregard for the future among the recently liberated slaves of the South.

These characteristics are integrated with their nature—they are defects of race. That in addition thereto there is discontent, insubordination, insin-



Our Country is the World, our Countrymen are all Mankind.

## PRES. LINCOLN ON NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

The following is an extract from an unpublished letter from the late President Lincoln, addressed to Gen. Wade-Worth, taking strong ground in favor of universal suffrage:—

"You desire to know, in the event of our complete success in the field, the same being followed by a legal and peaceful subjugation of the South, if universal amnesty should not be accompanied by universal suffrage. Now, since you know my private inclinations as to what terms should be granted to the South, in the contingency mentioned, I will here add, that if our success should thus be realized, followed by such desired results, I can see—if universal amnesty is granted—how, under the circumstances, I can avoid resorting to return universal suffrage, or, at least, suffrage on the basis of intelligence and military service.

"How to better the condition of the colored race has long been a study which has attracted my serious and careful attention; hence that I can clear and decided as to what course I shall pursue in the premises, regarding these people who have so heroically vindicated their manhood on the battle-field, where, in assisting to save the life of the republic, they have demonstrated in blood their right to the ballot, which is but the human protection of the flag they have so fearlessly defended."

J. B. TERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

lent, and in several instances, violence, is clearly attributable to the exaltation, the infatuation, produced in the minds of the freedmen by bad and designing men, for occult purposes. We believe the intelligent officers of the Freedmen's Bureau have endeavored to dispel the erroneous impressions thus made upon the minds of the negroes, but the latter are loth to credit the assertions of these officers, for, by so doing, they must surrender all their brilliant aspirations—their visions of ease and prosperity. We think this has added to their discontent, for they regard those bright days which have been promised them as so many vested rights, as actual property, of which they are to be deprived. While the officers are discharging their duty in toppling some of these castles over, the mischievous are still at work secretly, and, we fear, effectively.

The South desires, nay, needs, the labor of these people if they have any reason to them for their legislation. Association has made them familiar with this kind of labor, and for certain purposes they would prefer it, if the freedmen could be made to comprehend their own interests. But if the continued agitation of social and political questions is to attend the existence of this race among us—if we are to live in a state of chronic disorder, of chaotic disorganization, and see, constantly, around and amongst us, the elements of destruction ready for the use of fanaticism, instead of the peace and quiet we demand—if we risk but little in predicting the end. We can only bid these white breeders of mischief to beware, or the recoil will be dangerous to them.—*Richmond Whig.*

The right the republican form, in the hitherto received American sense of the term, was not violated by the exclusion from suffrage of persons not free. "Indians not taxed," is inferable from the Constitutional provision on that subject (Art. 1, sec. 2); but as to native-borne free citizens, or, even race or color, owing allegiance, and paying taxes to the government, the Constitution, from its first article to its last, discriminates not at all between them. We have the same Constitutional right, and no more, to disfranchise one class or race of these as another. A State that disfranches large masses of them, substitutes the oligarchical form for the republican, and Congress neglects a Constitutional duty if it permits this.

The right to check a State which should habitually violate, or temporally suspend, a republican form of government, was wisely placed in the nation's hands; for such violation or suspension endangers the national unity—impairs domestic peace. Slavery, though tolerated by the Constitution, did substantially violate the republican form, and the late rebellion was the ultimate result.

At the present juncture, when the danger is that this Constitutional provision regarding a republican form of government may be violated in the persons of four million of native-born citizens of African descent, an additional important consideration presents itself. *Equality of the negro in the South* is precisely the most loyal portion of the Southern people who run the risk of disfranchisement. We may safely calculate upon the vote of the negro population, in mass, being cast for national representatives who will vote with us on all great national questions: as against repudiation of our debt or assumption of the rebel debt. They will sustain us on such questions, not because they have financial knowledge or political experience, but because they have sagacious instincts. They understand that safety depends on voting with their friends; and they will do it.

There are two things, then, to be considered in this matter: our duty and our interest. They happen to coincide. God has decreed that if we neglect our Constitutional duty, we suffer our political allies to be disfranchised; in other words, we permit to be deprived of suffrage, to the number of four millions, the friends of loyalty and the Union.

A word or two of preface touching the President and his recent policy.

Many good men think that he has placed too much confidence in the Southern ex-slaves; that he has pushed the Christian principles of forgiveness and conciliation beyond their prudent limits; and that he has been expecting and facilitating the political rehabilitation of the late insurgent States as a day too early to consist with the public safety and with the future domestic tranquillity of the Republic.

It is not certain that the President himself may, to-day, perhaps, admit it. But let us not, therefore, too hastily conclude that any harm has been done. It is seldom unwise to tender the olive branch, even to the unscrupulous. After a great national outbreak, clemency should first be tried; nor, in practice, will we continue through a long term to treat whole communities as culprits.

The South, wedded to her idols, has not responded to the magnanimous overtures of the President.

Such, I doubt not, will be the judgment of Congress. Upon that judgment, I believe Congress will act; and if it does, no impediment, I fear, will be thrown in our way by our Chief Magistrate.

Andrew Johnson's past career is, in many respects, a noble one; and I do not believe he will falsify it. I call to mind that, at Nashville, a little more than a year ago, he declared to a large audience of negroes that "loyal men, whether white or black, shall alone control the destiny of Tennessee"; and I remember when from the vast crowd of freedmen there came a shout claiming him as their Moses to lead them to the promised land, he replied: "Hold on, and wait as I am, for I will indeed be your Moses, and lead you through the Red Sea of war and bondage to a fairer future of liberty and peace."

Conversing, a few weeks since, with an earnest thinking, and a distinguished member of the late Congress, Henry Winter Davis of Maryland, that gentleman expressed in strong terms his conviction that the national safety is jeopardized if the Constitutional guarantee touching a republican form of government remain a dead letter. I wish that Mr. Davis were a member of the Congress about to convene, there to urge, as he did on the occasion referred to, his reasons for such an opinion. It is, beyond doubt, a correct one. We do well to look narrowly at this provision and its legitimate results.

It is the people of the whole nation through their national government, not the people of any one State, through their convention or State legislature, who have the right, and upon whom is imposed the duty, to see that State governments are, and remain, republican in form (Art. IV, Sec. 4.) And the whole, not the people of a single State, but the Constitution made the judges of what is a republican form of government.

If a State of the Union were to proclaim a monarchy, Congress would have the right to reject her representatives. But a republican form of government may be subverted by indirection as effectually by a proclamation of a monarchy. A State has a right, within certain limits, to decree the qualifications of her voters. But any qualification may be pushed beyond the point of republicanism. And when this happens, it devolves upon the national government to enforce the Constitutional guarantee.

A State, if it see fit, may require a property qualification; as that a voter shall be a tax-payer or a householder; but it it push the principle so far as to require that he shall possess a hundred thousand dollars, then large masses are disfranchised, and the republican form of government is violated thereby.

A State, if it see fit, may require a literary qualification; that there shall be no further deception tried upon these simple-minded beings.

Those who have heretofore deceived the freedmen have done it through ignorance, they should inform themselves of facts; if they are bad and vindictive motives, they should be suppressed.

There can be no disputing the fact that here is idleness, carelessness, and a disregard for the future among the recently liberated slaves of the South.

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gence, and in several instances, violence, is clearly attributable to the exaltation, the infatuation, produced in the minds of the freedmen by bad and designing men, for occult purposes. We believe the intelligent officers of the Freedmen's Bureau have endeavored to dispel the erroneous impressions thus made upon the minds of the negroes, but the latter are loth to credit the assertions of these officers, for, by so doing, they must surrender all their brilliant aspirations—their visions of ease and prosperity. We think this has added to their discontent, for they regard those bright days which have been promised them as so many vested rights, as actual property, of which they are to be deprived. While the officers are discharging their duty in toppling some of these castles over, the mischievous are still at work secretly, and, we fear, effectively.

So, also, if a State disfranchise, because of race, the fifth part of her population, her action may violate justice, yet fall short of working a substantial change in her form of government. (*De minimis non curat lex.*) But if the number excluded by this qualification of race from participation in self-government amount to one third or one half or two thirds of her entire population, then large masses are disfranchised, and the republican form of government is essentially violated thereby.

Such disfranchisement would be temporary, then it amounts to a temporary suspension of the republican form.

That the republican form, in the hitherto received American sense of the term, was not violated by the exclusion from suffrage of persons not free. "Indians not taxed," is inferable from the Constitutional provision on that subject (Art. 1, sec. 2); but as to native-borne free citizens, or, even race or color, owing allegiance, and paying taxes to the government, the Constitution, from its first article to its last, discriminates not at all between them. We have the same Constitutional right, and no more, to disfranchise one class or race of these as another. A State that disfranches large masses of them, substitutes the oligarchical form for the republican, and Congress neglects a Constitutional duty if it permits this.

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As to the literary qualification—the ability to read—it has in its favor at this time two recommendations: one temporary and of expediency, the other of principle and eternal. For, first, it is a compromise offered to the South on the negro-suffrage question, shutting out, for the time being, probably nineteen-twentieths of the African race; and, secondly, it is the first step in the assertion of two great principles—the one, that the accident of race should not exclude a free citizen from self-government; and the other, that while monarchical Europe commonly selects property as a suffrage qualification, republican America substitutes for it the test of intelligence.

It would be well to remember in the same amendment, that President and Vice-President, should be voted for directly by the people. The intervention of electoral colleges (a provision virtually unannounced by public opinion) has long been a mere dead letter in inaccuracy; and, as such, should be erased from the Constitution.

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## The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 8, 1865.

## THE LAST QUARTER.

The Liberator is now on its last quarter, prior to the final close of its publication. It is not only desirable, but necessary, therefore, that those who are indebted to it should promptly remit what is due; as the expenses of the paper have been greatly increased, and its receipts lessened, during the present year; and as every farthing will be needed—and more—to enable us to complete the volume.

## THE NEW CONGRESS.

A favorable passage in regard to the action of this body may be drawn from the movements of a preliminary caucus of Republican Representatives, held in Washington last Saturday evening. One hundred and twenty-four of these gentlemen were present, and they unanimously voted the following resolution, to be presented in the House at the earliest moment possible, by Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, the mover:—

Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, in Congress assembled, That a joint committee of fifteen members shall be appointed, nine of whom shall be members of the House, and six of the Senate, who shall inquire into the condition of the States which formed the so-called Confederate States of America, and report whether any of them are entitled to be represented in either House of Congress with their present delegations, or otherwise; and until such report shall have been made and finally acted on by Congress, no member shall be received into either House from any of the so-called Confederate States; and all papers relating to the representatives of said States shall be referred to said committee without delay.

If he feared to use too much Executive power, it was easy for him to do so. Mr. Mullins, in his speech, had as much right to assume that the Federal Constitution had not the words white and black in it, and that on the rebel area he knew no law but Federal law and moral law, as he had to appoint military governors and keep up martial law.

Worst of all, I think, is his allowing reorganization of the State militia. While doing this, and withdrawing Federal troops, he says: "If they (the Southern States) go wrong, the power is in our hands; we can check them at any stage, to the end, and oblige them to correct their errors; we must be patient with them."

As your President is not at all deficient in understanding, I do not like to tell you what I think of this sentence; but he might surely be asked by a negro to explain wherein is the virtue of such practice.

Sydney Smith would say, that A exercises sublime patience with B, while B is tormenting C.

Does the President seriously say, that when the Federal troops are withdrawn, the State militia constituted, State rights restored,—then have you any power of "obliging" the States to "correct their errors?" except by a civil war?

Mr. Mullins, for his part, concedes that they cannot be compelled to do this.

It is unfortunate that the colored race, lost in the South, is the knell of despair to the colored race.

It secures that the "South shall be victorious," as Wendell Phillips puts it; and iron despair alone will come in a negro uprising and war of races. This would bring on you lasting disgrace, instead of moral glory which you had all but earned; it might make your whole future as stained as that of bloody old Europe.

This conversation of the President, following on his heartless speech to the colored soldiers, (so unlike his Nashville speech in October, 1864?) exhibits him as one who cannot come right except by external constraint; and Mr. Seward's speech is the warrant that the whole Cabinet is going wrong.

(Have they corrupted him?) I see no possibility of Congress giving him right by a mere *descriptive* power; it must assume the *aggressive* against him, to give it a chance of success.

The mildest form of attack, I think, would be to invite him to explain his apparent neglect of the Act of Congress which forbids any one who has been in overt rebellion to hold office or draw pay from the Federal Government.

Also, his allowing the reorganization of State militia should be solemnly denounced as initiating the means of a new rebellion.

Sabot (I think) says, that not to reward meritorious public conduct is of little harm to a republic; but not to punish malversations is of the seed of the gravest commotions.

I sadly believe that you now need, not merely to punish treason, but to resent the ill use of high powers, if you are to avoid terrible results.

Mr. Seward also introduced several bills, and series of resolutions, all bearing on the subject of re-constitution in the States lately in rebellion.

These are movements in the right direction. It is of the highest importance that a decided majority in both Houses should see the necessity of pitching their action, from the beginning of the session, upon the key thus correctly struck.

To treat treason as a crime is the first duty of the Congress that convenes immediately after the overthrow of the rebellion.

Its second duty is to provide that the traitors who have been baffled in arms shall not be successful in negotiation; shall not impudently thrust themselves into the councils of the nation which they have tried to destroy; shall not plant the seeds of a future rebellion in the Constitutions or codes of their reconstructed States; shall not re-assume, in their several communities, that aristocratic or oligarchic position which enabled them to do the mischief of the last thirty years; and, above all, shall not be allowed, either in the way last mentioned or in any other way, to hold undue power one moment longer over the black loyalists of the South, the race which they so long held in slavery; the race which they now doubly hate, first as having injured them, next as having been conquered by them.

But the duties of the new Congress will demand other action also, and action of the very highest importance, namely: a statement clear and decisive, beyond the possibility of doubt, in regard to several matters which, though seeming to be settled in times past, were successfully contested in practice, to the disgrace of the whole nation, and to the loss and injury of large classes of its people.

What a paper shall we take in place of it?

It is of the highest importance that the subscribers and readers of the Liberator universally lament its discontinuation, whatever difference of judgment may exist among them as to the propriety of that discontinuance.

So close has become their intimacy with its leading thought and purpose, so warm their regard for its editor,—so indispensable, in short, has the Liberator become to them,—that they cannot be reconciled to the thought that it is to be no longer.

"What paper shall we take in place of it?" is a question which must arise in many minds. And each will answer the question for himself, according to his own views, tastes, and means. For those who are able to afford the subscription price, (\$6 per annum), The Nation, published by Joseph H. Richards, at 120 Nassau Street, New York, is, in our opinion, the most worthy to succeed the Liberator. Its merits, of ability, boldness, variety, elevation of thought and moral tone, its vigilant interest in the freedmen's cause,—to say nothing of its handsome appearance, and clear, distinct type,—make it a most desirable paper for every intelligent family. We wish it could be afforded at a price placing it within the reach of Liberator subscribers generally.

Our readers, however, will not forget that an Anti-Slavery journal will continue to issue from the present office of the Liberator. The new paper, established for gratuitous circulation, by Major George L. Stearns, entitled "The Right Way," commands itself to all as an outspoken, uncompromising, ably-edited, anti-slavery sheet. Although circulated gratuitously, Major Stearns desires the help of all friends in the great work upon which he has entered. We recommend to our readers in every town where the Liberator now goes, to make up a list of names of those who would read and circulate "The Right Way," and, obtaining such pecuniary contributions as they can in aid of the paper, send the whole to W. W. Thayer, of the paper, at 221 Washington Street, Boston. This may be done at once, and the back numbers of the paper,—two or three having been issued,—may then be secured.—S. M., Jr.

Who are "citizens" of the United States?

The claim of citizenship is one which haughty officials have it upon them to deny to persons as fully possessed of all its characteristic features as themselves, and vastly superior to themselves in the moral scale.

Let us now have this right so defined that no denial or evasion of it shall hereafter be possible.

Who have the right of suffrage under a Republican Government?

Are persons proved guilty of infamous crime, known murderers, thieves, perjured persons, to be considered entitled to it?

Are known traitors, persons who have already once broken their pledges to the nation, to be considered entitled to it?

Are rebels lately in arms against the nation, rebels who impudently avow themselves unchanged in spirit and temper, to be considered entitled to it?

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## Poetry.

## SUFFRAGE.

A RHYME FOR THE PEOPLE.

Give a man his freedom,  
And then withhold his rights!  
That's a kind of Liberty  
That wouldn't do for White.  
"Tis well enough for Negroes,  
The shameless logic reads:  
Now we open such asploites,  
Such anti-human breeds!

Chorus—"For the black hand and white hand—  
And God made both—

And the hand that holds a masket  
Is fit to hold a vote;  
They're helped as conquer Treason,  
And take it by the throat;  
And the hand that holds a masket  
Is fit to hold a vote.

They've pour'd their blood like water  
To save the country's case;  
And yet, they hav'n't earned the right  
To help us make the Laws!  
Blows they're brought us blessing;  
For scouring and for soars,  
They've helped redress the dear old flag,  
And blessed stripes and stars!

Chorus—"And the black hand and white hand, etc.

The sweat and toil of ages  
Is on their dusky brows—

Oh, brothers! let our hearts be strong  
To do them justice now!

"Tis all they ask us—Justice!—

The sacred right of man—

So long withheld!—the tardy chance

To do the best they can!

Chorus—"For the black hand and white hand, etc.

Then here's a toast to end with:

The SUFFRAGE or THE FREE!

For what were Life or Freedom else,

To him, or you, or me?

So here's a toast to end with,

And give it three times three:

The rights of all men, black and white!

The suffrage of the Free!

Chorus—"For the black hand and white hand—  
And God made both—

And the hand that holds a masket  
Is fit to hold a vote;

They've helped as conquer Treason,  
And take it by the throat;

And the hand that holds a masket  
Is fit to hold a vote.

—Anti-Slavery Standard.

C. A. M.

## THE CHOLERA.

## RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED TO OUR CITY OFFICIALS.

Over the land and over the sea.

A strange cry rings horribly  
And strong men shudder fearingly

At the cry of a demon from over the sea:—

"I've crossed the land, and over the sea  
My bark is sounding merrily,

Westward, ho!" so cheerily,

With a freight of death from over the sea."

It has fled with the summer over the sea,  
It has rested with the autumn leaves,

It has harvested the harvest and bound the sheaves,

It has "gathered them in," and filled the graves

Of city and hamlet, over the sea.

'Tis surely coming, over the sea,

And the pestilence lurks in the filthy street,

In the garbous heads that swim won't eat,

And reeking alleys and dung-heaps greet

The hungry ghoul from over the sea."

It has reached our land, over the sea,

This monster, wan and ferocious and grim,

And the palied heart and the trembling limb

Are choicest meat and food for him

Who comes to his banquet over the sea.

Oh, do you not hear them, from over the sea,

Cry shame! to men to wisdom dead,

To the addled brains and hearts of lead,

That pride and wail till hope hath fled,

And the pestilence walketh this side of the sea?

Oh, Fathers of Cities, this side of the sea,

Will you wait till the time has passed,

Wait till the pestilence binds us fast,

Breathe death on this side of the sea?

Gird up your loins, this side of the sea,

And scrub and sweep and ditch and drain,

Let the countless dead and the thousands slain,

And the widow's prayer and the orphans pain

Shall drive you, accursed, beyond the sea.

Over the land and over the sea.

A strange cry rings horribly:

"Make room for Death and room for me,

We come to your land, over the sea!"

Louisville, Nov. 4, 1865.

TIMLY DITTY.

## A NEW SONG.

BY ELIZA A. FITTINGER.

Awake the harp, and thrill the string,  
While Freedom's burning numbers ring!

Throughout the clime!

For she will ever stand,

Powerful, sublime and grand,

To endless time!

Awake the harp, let music flow!

Let hope and inspiration glow

Warm every tone!

Oh, catch the glory-bounding sound,

While myriad strains in joy resound

From song to song!

Awake, and let its numbers tell

How grand to level fell

Beyond the main!

Oh, let a new and rapturous song

Above the plain!

Turn, tune the chords to an eddies rhyme

Of joy! oh, swell in glowing rhyme

The Ages grand!

Oh, may we never fail to be

Obedient to that destiny

That sways our land!

Then strike with heavenly seal each string!

Strike deep the burning chords, and sing

Of glories yet to be!

Oh, sing of Ages yet to rise,

Transform'd 'neath the flushing skies

Of Peace and Liberty!

## SAVING FAITH.

BY J. C. L.

Great spirit of renewing truth!

Come shining through our darkened eyes,

And make the tides of light roll in,

To cleanse from error and from sin;

Destroy the refuges of lies.

If any falsehood of the Past

Round us has thrown its iron chain,

Burn through and melt each festering link,

Our slaves of Prejudice we slay;

Give us to Freedom once again!

Faith in the Present may we have!

Faith that God lives and works to-day!

Faith that all righteousness prevails,

That Revelation never fails!

Inseal that work and pray.

O Future, thou art held in trust!

To build for thee a glowing way

Our hearts are pledged; no Past can bind,

No Age's promise is behind!

Set forth! Pursue the mighty day!

—Radical for October.

## THE LIBERATOR.

## The Liberator.

SOME POPULAR DELUSIONS,  
THEIR CAUSE, AND THEIR CURE.I.  
SOME POPULAR DELUSIONS.

Certain erroneous ideas are popularly taken for granted in this country, as in other countries called Christian. They are held not only without evidence, and against evidence, but without even the pretence of knowledge on the part of the greatest majority of those who hold them; since ninety-nine of every hundred of those who receive the ideas referred to, when questioned as to the grounds of their belief, can give no reasons that will for a moment bear examination, but can only refer to the assertions of certain other persons, whom they suppose to be well informed upon the subject.

The ideas here referred to are in the department of religious belief, and are resolutely and strenuously maintained to be true, even by those who can give no reason for them, and even in the face of strong reasons adduced against them.

Some of the erroneous ideas thus popularly held and maintained relate to the Bible. It is really believed by a majority of the people in this country—

1. That the writings of Hebrew authors, collectively known as The Old Testament, are infallibly correct in fact and doctrine.

2. That the writings of Christian authors, collectively known as The New Testament, are infallibly correct in fact and doctrine.

3. That these two agree together, as parts of one system, so that it is possible intelligently to accept all the statements of both as true.

4. That all parts of these two books are so homogeneous, and so perfectly accordant with each other, that any affirmation made, or any injunction given, by any part of either, may properly be said to be infallibly correct.

5. That the writing of all the documents constituting each of these two volumes was miraculously supervised by God.

6. That these two constitute one infallible, sufficient, and obligatory rule of life for Christians.

7. That if both these be not accepted as infallibly correct, both must be rejected as valueless.

8. That if the mythological portion of either of these works be discredited, their moral and spiritual portions become valueless to the doubter.

9. That statements showing error in any part of the Bible, or absolute contradiction between two parts of it, are an attack on the Bible, instead of merely with the general progress of intelligence in the community; and to inquire also how these errors may be removed; that is to say, how light may be obtained, and progress made, in the departments of theology and religion.

## THE LIBERATOR.

Would that men would hear when the Most High speaks to their souls in the still small voice of conscience! but, alas, it has taken the whirlwind and fire of battle to teach the people of this "model republic" that an aristocracy founded on human slavery was not part of the Divine programme,

"When God unloosed the land;  
Which he bid of old in the West;"

and now a correspondent of *The Nation* (a paper which should—at least, so it seems to me—rebut such sentiments) is endeavoring to show how from the terrible debt contracted during the late devastating war, "a son of aristocracy may be founded"; and he goes on to point out the advantages to be derived from the new order of things in the antislavery cause.

Heir him, (p. 43, No. 2): "It would create and keep up a more correct taste in art and literature, by giving large numbers of educated persons time and means for its cultivation; and it would communicate greater fixity to habits, modes of thought," &c.

Now to "create and keep up a correct taste in art and literature" may and would no doubt be very fine, if we do not pay too great a price. But it must be remembered that for every pair of hands that refuses to do its share of the world's work, some other pair must do double duty; so that the increase of people who do nothing for the common weal really diminishes instead of increasing the number of those who have to live by their labor.

"Satan finds some mischief still," &c.

Since the days of William the Conqueror, one family has "floated upon the top wave of English society." As care-free as the illes of the field are clothed in splendor and fed right royally without oil or spinning; with wealth to surround itself with all that is worthy and beautiful in art and nature; and with leisure to pursue the paths of science and literature; yet, in all these centuries it has produced a single poet, painter, sculptor, or historian of eminence, I, at least, have not seen that fact recorded.

"Work out your own salvation," cries inexorable Dr. Watts—

"Satan finds some mischief still," &c.

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"Satan finds some mischief still," &c.

Col. Forney's reply treats the Committee with

great forbearance, abstaining from comment on

the theological absurdity of their position. He, however,

gives them a gentle touch of the *argumentum ad hominem*, telling them that they know very well that the Sunday paper to which they object is written and printed by Saturday labor, while the Monday paper to which they do not object is written and printed by Sunday labor. He intimates that the moral character of his paper will not suffer by comparison with that of the papers that call themselves "religious," and he intends to continue the course thus commenced, for these two reasons: he thinks that there is a public demand for it, and also that the true welfare of the public, intellectual and moral, will be promoted by it.

"Work out your own salvation," cries inexorable Dr. Watts—

"Satan finds some mischief still," &c.